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EASTERN

F.O.
371

1948

PALESTINE

FILE No. 4

.pp. 1235 - 1694

68531

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8
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

31st January, 1948.

E 1236/4/31

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Paul,

Thank you for the copy of your letter No. 52/42/48 of the 24th January to Allen, giving an account of a conversation which you have had on the subject of Palestine with Gordon Knox. It was a surprise to me, at the last Assembly, to find that Knox appeared to be the principal adviser to the United States Delegation on the Palestine Committee. I did not get the impression that he was very well qualified in this field, and it also seemed to me that in conversation he did not choose his words very carefully, so that it would probably not be safe to assume that the ideas he discussed with you necessarily have any basis in official policy.

With reference to your paragraph 5, I think you should know the direction in which opinion is moving in the Office.

We are convinced that a decision by the Security Council to send an international force to Palestine would be dangerous to the interests of H.M. Government. I am personally convinced that the arrival of any international forces in Palestine, so far from intimidating the Arabs would provoke them into violent action on a much larger scale than is occurring now. It must also be remembered that the Governments of the independent Arab States are very much at the mercy of their public opinion, and that the reaction in other Arab countries is likely to be very much the same as that in Palestine. Any government

in/

Paul Falla, Esq.,
United Kingdom Delegation,
NEW YORK.

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in Iraq or Syria, which did not, in the event of international action against the Arabs of Palestine, yield to the popular clamour for armed intervention, would in my opinion be swept out of office. Thus the military intervention of the United Nations on one side would provoke military action on the other and would start a conflagration in the Middle East with incalculable consequences. Apart from the direct effects of such a development on our own interests in the Middle East, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the success of the Marshall Plan depends to a considerable extent on the uninterrupted flow of Middle Eastern oil to Western Europe. Even now we fear that the supply of Iraqi oil through Haifa may be cut off before long, either by the action of the Iraqi Government or by sabotage of the pipe line.

If the conflict in Palestine develops in such a way that Iraq and Syria are directly involved, we may also lose the flow of Iraqi oil through the other outlet of Tripoli, pipe line development may be held up for a long time, and the resumption of the flow through Haifa indefinitely delayed. It is hardly necessary to add that the Soviet Union would be the only beneficiary both from the confusion in the Middle East and from the oil-starvation in Western Europe.

It is true that, during the Assembly, the United Kingdom Delegate tried to impress upon the other delegations the danger of recommending a settlement in Palestine without at the same time providing the means of enforcing it. This argument was used, however, in the hope of persuading the Assembly not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs and Jews. The Assembly disregarded the warning, and we do not consider that we are committed by anything we said before the veto to giving any support to measures for enforcing the decision which they have in fact taken.

The only decision so far taken by Ministers which bears on our attitude in the Security Council is that

British/

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British troops will not participate in international action to impose partition. On the other hand it is fairly certain that we shall not go to the length of using the veto in order to prevent such action. The outstanding question is whether we should maintain in the Security Council the neutral position we adopted at the Assembly, and play an entirely passive part in the discussion, or whether we should use our influence more or less openly in favour of isolating the conflict in Palestine. I think you will find that the suggestion you make in paragraph 6 of your letter is adequately covered by the brief which we are sending in answer to your telegram No. 142.

I am sending copies of this letter to Allen in Washington and to Martin at the Colonial Office.

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Registry
No. E1239/4/31

~~Top Secret~~
Secret.
~~Confidential~~
~~Restricted~~
Open

Draft.
U.K. Delegation,
New York.

Telegram.

No.

(Date)

Repeat to : -

Washington
Moscow
Ottawa
Jerusalem

C.O. for
Consumers

H.B. Bailey
29/

~~En Clair.~~
~~Code.~~
Cypher.

Distribution : -

World Organisation

Copies to : -

11856j Wt. 4897.140 100m 347 G.S.51. G.P. 620

URGENT. Family call 4
London 6 PM 12
to day.

F.O.

194

Despatched M.

IMMEDIATE.
SECRET.
GIANT.

Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York,
telegram No. of

Repeated to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa
and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 222 [of the 27th
January. Palestine.]

We have been considering the bearing
on the interests of H.M. Government of the
proposal to send an international force to
Palestine to implement the plan of partition.
If the Security Council were to decide upon
the formation of such a force, we should fear
the following consequences:-

- (a) It would be impossible to prevent
either the Soviet Union or at least
one of its satellites from con-
tributing a contingent of troops.
- (b) The Arab population of Palestine,
so far from being intimidated by
the threat of international force,
would probably be goaded into even
greater violence.

- (c) The danger of open intervention by
Some of the Arab States would also be
increased. *Some of the* Arab
Governments are, as recent events
in Bagdad have shown, *particularly susceptible to* dependent on
public extremist

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B

illusion as to the reality of our determination to withdraw our forces, because it was our duty to warn them of the difficulties they were likely to encounter in Palestine, and because we hoped that the realisation of these difficulties would induce them not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs or Jews. We do not consider that we are committed, by anything said during the Assembly, to supporting or approving an attempt to impose by force the resolution adopted on the 29th November.

at this late date and in changed circumstances

4. The choice before us is therefore not between abstaining and using our influence in favour of enforcement, but between abstaining and using our influence against it. The relative merits of the two latter courses are still under consideration here. ~~The opening statement in your paragraph 6 suggests that the wisest policy might be to let matters take their course in the Security Council without playing any very active part ourselves.~~

5. We agree, however, that the Security Council should not be left in ignorance of *security situation as it is developing,* ~~the task which would face any force it might decide to organise for the purpose of imposing partition in Palestine,~~ but the note which you have already submitted to the Commission, on the security position in Palestine since the United Nations' decision, seems admirable for this purpose. No doubt you

/will...

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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FOREIGN OFFICE, 17

S.W.1.

30th January, 1948.

Dear Wood,

I enclose a copy of a draft telegram which it is proposed to send in reply to telegram No. 222 from New York, and in which the Foreign Secretary would like the Minister of Defence's concurrence. The draft is also being cleared with the Colonial Secretary. I should be grateful if you will let me know as soon as possible whether Mr. Alexander agrees with its terms.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgb.) R. D. C. McALPINE

R. F. Wood, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence.

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References -

FO 371/68531

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No. E 1239/4/51

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~~Confidential~~
~~Restricted~~
~~Open~~

F. O.,

194 .

Despatched

M.

Draft.

U.K. Delegation,
New York

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Telegram.

GIANT

No.

(Date)

Repeat to :-

Washington
Moscow
Ottawa
Jerusalem

Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York,
telegram No. of

Repeated to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa
and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 222 [of the 27th January.
Palestine]

C.O. for
concurrency

We have been considering the bearing on
the interests of His Majesty's Government of
the proposal to send an international force to
Palestine to implement the plan of partition.
If the Security Council were to decide upon
the formation of such a force, we should fear
the following consequences:-

En Clair.
Code:
Cypher.

Distribution :-

World Organisation

(a) It would be impossible to prevent
either the Soviet Union or at least
one of its satellites from contributing
a contingent of troops.

(b) The Arab population of Palestine,
so far from being intimidated by the
threat of international force, would
probably be goaded into even greater
violence.

(c) The danger of open intervention by
some of the Arab States would also be
increased. Arab Governments are, as
recent events in Bagdad have shown,

peculiarly/

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FO 371/68531

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OUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLIC
RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

illusion as to the reality of our determination to withdraw our forces, because it was our duty to warn them of the difficulties they were likely to encounter in Palestine, and because we hoped that the realisation of these difficulties would induce them not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs or Jews. We do not consider that we are committed, by anything said during the Assembly, to supporting or approving an attempt at this late date and in changed circumstances to impose by force the resolution adopted on the 29th November.

4. The choice before us is therefore not between abstaining and using our influence in favour of enforcement, but between abstaining and using our influence against it. The relative merits of the two latter courses are still under consideration here.

5. We agree, however, that the Security Council should not be left in ignorance of the security situation as it is developing. The note which you have already submitted to the Commission, on the security position in Palestine since the United Nations' decision, seems admirable for this purpose. No doubt you will continue to keep the Commission informed on these lines and they will be able to pass on this material to the Security Council. Any material which you submit on this question should, of course, be drafted not so much with a view to encouraging the Security Council to take military action, as to bringing out/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Registry
No. E 1239/4/31

~~TOP SECRET~~
Secret.
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~RESTRICTED~~
XXX
Open.

F. O.,

194 .

Despatched

M.

Draft.
U.K. Delegation,
New York

Telegram.

No.

(Date)

Repeat to :-

Washington
Moscow
Ottawa
Jerusalem

C.O. for
concurrence

En Clair.
Code.
Cypher.

Distribution :-
World Organisation

Copies to :-

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

GIANT

Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York,
telegram No. of

Repeated to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa
and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 222 [of the 27th January.
Palestine]

We have been considering the bearing on
the interests of His Majesty's Government of
the proposal to send an international force to
Palestine to implement the plan of partition.
If the Security Council were to decide upon
the formation of such a force, we should fear
the following consequences:-

- (a) It would be impossible to prevent
either the Soviet Union or at least
one of its satellites from contributing
a contingent of troops.
- (b) The Arab population of Palestine,
so far from being intimidated by the
threat of international force, would
probably be goaded into even greater
violence.
- (c) The danger of open intervention by
some of the Arab States would also be
increased. Arab Governments are, as
recent events in Bagdad have shown,

peculiarly/

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illusion as to the reality of our determination to withdraw our forces, because it was our duty to warn them of the difficulties they were likely to encounter in Palestine, and because we hoped that the realisation of these difficulties would induce them not to adopt proposals which would arouse the irreconcilable antagonism of either Arabs or Jews. We do not consider that we are committed, by anything said during the Assembly, to supporting or approving an attempt at this late date and in changed circumstances to impose by force the resolution adopted on the 29th November.

4. The choice before us is therefore not between abstaining and using our influence in favour of enforcement, but between abstaining and using our influence against it. The relative merits of the two latter courses are still under consideration here.

5. We agree, however, that the Security Council should not be left in ignorance of the security situation as it is developing. The note which you have already submitted to the Commission, on the security position in Palestine since the United Nations' decision, seems admirable for this purpose. No doubt you will continue to keep the Commission informed on these lines and they will be able to pass on this material to the Security Council. Any material which you submit on this question should, of course, be drafted not so much with a view to encouraging the Security Council to take military action, as to bringing out/

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out the impracticability of implementing the present plan and the consequent necessity of seeking an agreed alternative.

6. In any event it does not seem to us possible for the Security Council to reach a decision on the character, strength and composition of an international force, and for that force to be organised and deployed in Palestine, before the last British troops leave the country on the 1st August.

It appears from your paragraph 9 that you concur in this view. We should certainly not agree in any circumstances to postpone our departure in order to await the arrival of United Nations forces.

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Cypher/OTP
Secret

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 434

31st January, 1948 D. 2.15 p.m. 31st January, 1948

Repeated to Washington No. 1259
Moscow No. 205
Ottawa
Jerusalem

MOST IMMEDIATE

SECRET

GIANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation, New York telegram No. 434 of January 31st repeated for information to Washington, Moscow, Ottawa and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 222 [of 27th January, Palestine].

Following from Sargent.

The Secretary of State is at present out of London. A meeting has been arranged on Tuesday morning, immediately after his return, at which Ministers will consider the problems raised by your telegram.

2. Meanwhile the only guidance I can offer you is negative. I suggest that you should entirely reserve the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the possible use of force by the United Nations to impose the General Assembly plan for Palestine, and that you should not either privately or publicly present the security situation in Palestine in such a way as to suggest that we are trying to persuade the Security Council to take any particular decision.

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Cypher/OTP

POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION E 12.50

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Busk,
No.113

27th January, 1948.

D. 7.12 a.m. 28th January, 1948.

R. 8.10 a.m. 28th January, 1948.

Repeated to Beirut,
Cairo,
Damascus,
Jedda,
Amman,
B.M.E.O.Cairo,
Jerusalem,
Washington.

SAVING

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.113 of January 27th repeated Saving to Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Amman, B.M.E.O.Cairo, Jerusalem and Washington.

SECRET.

Your telegram No.38 to Beirut.

From here scheme looks improbable, but I should expect Iraqi reactions to be more favourable to it than to any similar scheme involving other participants. Possible adverse reaction of King Abdullah might, however, have repercussions here; and I can only assume that supporters of Arab League would look askance at what would certainly be represented as Lebanese participation in implementation of partition.

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(2)

of Jerusalem telegram already quoted). Here again it would be consonant with our undertakings towards the Commission to give them in confidence as much information as possible (provided that secrecy of our sources is not compromised). But there can be no guarantee that our confidence would be fully respected and there is a danger of our being represented by the ill-disposed as sabotaging military arrangements of future Jewish State.

5. In view of these pitfalls you may consider that Commission should be given no (repeat no) information on security matters which is not either public property or so general as not to compromise what may be regarded as military secrets of either side. But Commission may well press for fuller information and they may be on strong ground in invoking promise of His Majesty's Government to assist them with all information in their power.

6. I should therefore be grateful for your urgent observations as question may arise in the near future.

Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 40.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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the passage about the German officer, the sentence next following and the last two sentences. Paragraph 2 would be omitted as wholly speculative. There would be no objection to the use of paragraph 3.

4. Decisions in detail must be left to your discretion, but the above may be useful as general guidance. Jerusalem telegram No. 226 to you^r should also be helpful.

WTL

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69

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E 1278 3

1948

PARLIAMENT

JAN 1948

Registry Number

E1278/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

UKRAF

No.

New York

Dated

236

Received in Registry

28 Jan

29

British Remnant of Soviet Solid Force
2/20 4/11/295 (E 1278/4/31) Soviet solid force
operation would be similar to that of the Soviet
volunteers of the remainder of the Soviet force
which with knowledge of the work of the Soviet
force of operations of the Soviet force of
operations would be similar to that of the
Soviet force of operations.

Last Paper.

1277

(Minutes.)

Please see E 1380

References.

H.B. 9/2

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

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M104
Adams
Q.M.

Jan 29
On E 1278

Ad, New York 623
11 Feb

8, 2, About Feb 14

(Action completed.)

(Index)

G.L. 12/2

[Signature]

Next Paper.

1279

30471 F.O.P

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E 1270 32

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Cypher/OTP

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DELEGATION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Nations Delegation to United Nations)

No. 236

D. 8.40 p.m. 28th January 1948

R. 2.15 a.m. 29th January 1948

28th January 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington Saving.

SECRET.
SECRET.
SECRET.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 236 of January 28th repeated for information to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

Your telegram No. 295: British personnel of Palestine Police Force.

In informal conversation today, following communication to him as in last sentence of your paragraph 2, Bunche asked whether objection would be raised to British police personnel volunteering after termination of their contracts for service with Commission or even with Arab or Jewish States or organisations.

2. I should be grateful for earliest advice as to reply. If the answer is affirmative, could Jerusalem please give any estimate that may be possible as to numbers likely to volunteer?

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 42.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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Registry
No. E1278/4/31

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Draft.

Sir A. Catojan,
New York.

Telegram.

No. 623

(Date) Feb 11

Repeat to:-

~~Washington.~~
~~Jerusalem.~~

~~En Clair.~~
~~Code.~~
Cypher.

Distribution:-

World Organ

Copies to:-

CYIPHER ²³
F.O.

194

Despatched M.

~~Imperial~~

~~Secret~~

~~Front~~

Your telegram No. 238. [British
personnel of Palestine Police Force.]

There can be no objection to British
police personnel whose contracts are
being terminated volunteering for
service with any successor authority
in Palestine. No doubt Jerusalem
will give you any estimate that may be
possible of numbers likely to volunteer
for such service.

H3. 11/2

addressed to UN Sec New York
Re no 623 of 11th Feb reply for
inform to Washington and Jerusalem

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E 12736 36

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 238

28th January, 1948

D. 8.48 p.m. 28th January, 1948

R. 2.16 a.m. 29th January, 1948

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington Saving

IMMEDIATE

GIANT

SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 238 of 28th January repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

My telegram No. 228.

Palestine.

My immediately following telegram contains text of letter received from Commission today regarding incursion of armed Arab bands into Palestine.

2. Reference is made to the activities of these bands in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the Weekly Intelligence Appreciation (telegram from High Commissioner to Colonial Office No. 174) and under heading paragraph 3D of telegram from High Commissioner to Colonial Office No. 181.

3. Please instruct urgently in light of my telegram under reference whether Commission should be given information referred to in paragraph 2 above together with any further specific replies to the points raised in Commission's letter.

Please repeat to Jerusalem Immediate as my telegram No. 44.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

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71

E

E 1280

38

1948

PALESTINE

29 JAN 1948

Registry Number E1280/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. U.K. Del

Dated New York

Received in Registry 239

28 Jan

29 -

Information for U.N. Commission
Refer New York Lt 238 (E1279/4/31) transmit
text of letter referred to in Lt order of from
U.N. Commission asking information re invasion
of United Arab by Israel.

Last Paper.

1279

(Minutes.)

See E1277

References.

273 31/1

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8. Wetheran BV
Sherman Bob off

M12a

M04

admt

am

Jan 29 1948 E1280

(Action completed.)

[Signature]

(In [initials].)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

1284

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72
1948

E

PALESTINE

E 1284

29 JAN 1948

Registry Number E1284/4/1

TELEGRAM FROM

No. 1011

Dated 10.1.48

Received in Registry 25.1.48

27

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a telegram message.

Last Paper.

1280

(Minutes.)

References.

U.N. Political Dept. UN 314.

273 29/1

(Print)

(How disposed of.)

*Abraham BO
Sherman Pal Off
M13a
M104
Admty
AM*

Jan 26/12.55

(Action completed.)

J. L. M. 1/27

(Index.)

1284

Next Paper.

1281

5047: F.O.P

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73

E

43

E 1288

1948

PALESTINE

29 JAN 1948

Registry Number E1288/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. H.R. 201

Dated New York

Received in Registry 242

28 Jan

29 -

City of Jerusalem, Palestine.
The receipt of 215...
to the...
in the... of Jerusalem.

ADDRESS TERMINATED

Last Paper.

1284

(Minutes.)

References.

S.P.P. Petrus Ltd 193 26/1

H.B. 291

H.B. 311

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8 Wetheran Co.
Lerman Bab off
M139
M04
Ackmby
A.M. on E1288
Jan 29.

(Action completed.)

G.P. 29/1

(Index.)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

1290

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45

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

288 4 31

Cypher(O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE(Gen.Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 26th January, 1948.

R. 26th " " 19.20 hrs.

No.193 Confidential

Addressed to UKDEL New York, No.210 (Washington
please pass).

Repeated to S. of S.

Following for Fletcher-Cooke from Gurney. Begins:

Many thanks for your informative letters of 13th
January and 15th January, received today. We are answering
your telegrams as soon as possible.

2. Could UKDEL Public Relations Officer help in making
facts known, particularly regarding old City of Jerusalem, at
present subject of strong Jewish propaganda, by pointing
out that:-

(a) Tension in Old City is being maintained by presence
of Hagana and Irgun, who are distrusted by Arabs, and endeavor
to control food distribution to Jewish community there who
would be happy to be left alone under protection of 100
British troops now guarding them.

(b) But for Army convoys and protection this community
would no longer be there;

(c) Insecurity of Jews in respect of access to Wailing Wall
and other parts of Old City is due to Jewish bomb outrages at
Damascus and Jaffa gates;

(d) This problem can be settled by peaceful means only and
not by violence.

3. Since Jewish Agency have openly threatened to blast
a way in and seem to be preparing ground by usual false
propaganda, we ought to be doing something now to make facts
known. For full details see our telegram No.138 repeated to
Colonial Office No.118. Ends.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

-

Communications Division.

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E1290

47

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Chapman Andrews
No. 117
28th January, 1948

D. 7.36 p.m. 28th January, 1948
R. 8.30 p.m. 28th January, 1948

Repeated to Beirut
Bagdad
Damascus
Jedda
Jerusalem
Amman
Washington

IMPORTANT

TOP SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 117 of 28th January repeated to Beirut, Bagdad, Damascus, Jedda, Jerusalem, Amman and Washington.

Your telegram No. 38 to Beirut.

It is not possible to predict what the Egyptian reaction would be though it is safe to say that they would not be enthusiastic. Egypt regards herself as the leader of the Arab League so has to be looking over her shoulder all the time at the other members in a matter of this sort. The League does not accept partition so Egypt would almost certainly take the line that no Arab Force should be employed furthering the partition plan. Indeed they might say that any troops the Lebanese could spare would be better employed fighting the Jews.

This impression could be avoided

2. The attitude of the Egyptian Government would almost certainly be different if they thought that the United Nations were resolved to implement the partition decision by sending an International Force to Palestine to enforce it. If they saw that the United Nations really meant business in this way, they might even be quite glad to take the lead in accepting the existence

of/

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1948

E

PALESTINE

E 130
30 JAN 1948 J 52

Registry Number: E1302/4/51

FROM: T. M. ...

No. ...

Dated: 25/5/48

Received in Registry: 27 Jan 48

Future history of ...

... meeting ...

... 27 Jan.

Last Paper.

1297

(Minutes.)

References.

... 27/1

Now in E1460/6.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

...

(Index)

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Next Paper.

1361

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1	2	3	4	5	6
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The Church House,
Great Smith Street,
S.W.1.

My Reference 75672/154/26/48.

Your Reference _____

27th January, 1948. *SB*

E 150

Secret
Immediate

30 JAN 1948 *JM = Burnham*

Mr dear Wright.

You may remember that at the end of our discussion with Sir Alan Burns about the proposed Statute for Jerusalem on the 14th January, I raised the question of the future of Jerusalem between the end of the mandatory regime and the establishment of effective international control. I am afraid we have not yet been able to prepare the draft paper on the subject which we undertook to submit to you for comment, but in the meantime Lloyd has received the personal letter from the High Commissioner, of which I enclose a copy, and it seems desirable to have a further discussion with Burns before he leaves for New York next week.

We should be very grateful if you could come or send a representative to a meeting with Burns in my room on Friday morning, 30th January, at 11 o'clock. Perhaps you will be good enough to confirm on the telephone that this is convenient.

The principal points to be discussed will be -

- i) the timing of the Governor's arrival,
- ii)

Michael Wright, Esq., C.M.G.

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be made use of in connection with it. The Consulates here are practically all making arrangements to bring in Consular Guards either from the Armed Forces of their countries or by recruitment amongst their nationals. For instance the American Consul General has asked for quite a large number of Marines. It had therefore occurred to me that an International force of some kind might be arrived at through an expansion of this scheme. Such a system would have one considerable advantage, for there is no Russian Consulate here, though there are of course Consulates from some of Russia's satellites. On the other hand there is a number of representatives from the Arab states and there might be difficulty in excluding their guards from any scheme. There does however seem a possibility of some of the powers represented here being asked to expand their guards and to place them in emergency at the disposal of the Chief of Police of Jerusalem for police duties including of course the protection of their own Consulates.

Whether this scheme can be developed or not, in view of the importance of having the security force in being when the Governor takes over, I believe some way should be found of forming and training it in Palestine beforehand.

5. These remarks at this stage can only be on the broadest lines as we here do not know the detail of the formation on which it is intended to build. I am sure however that we will all be agreed on one fundamental point. It is unthinkable that Jerusalem should just be left to become a cockpit of internicine strife and that the Holy City should lapse into a pitched battlefield. It is for this reason that I would again stress the paramount importance of immediate planning and action to prevent such a catastrophe.

6. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sir Alan Burns.

Yours sincerely,

(S.D.) A. Cunningham.

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 267.

D. 9.20. p.m. 30th January 1948.

30th January 1948.

R. 3.10. a.m. 31st January 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington, Saving.

IMMEDIATE

GIANT

Addressed Foreign Office telegram 267 January 30th repeated to Jerusalem and saving to Washington.

SECRET

Your telegram 401. - E 500

Replies on lines indicated were read to Commission this afternoon. Atmosphere, as previously, was cordial though it was clear that Commission saw considerable difficulties in some of the answers given.

2. Points arising out of answer to Question A.2 on Transjordan Frontier Force are being dealt with in a separate telegram.

3. Federspiel enquired as to precise definition of "areas in which General Officer Commanding may need to exercise his overriding military jurisdiction". Point arose from answers given both to Questions A.1 and A.9, and he seemed to be in doubt whether "attack on British forces remaining in Palestine" in answer to Question A.9 meant the same thing as an attack on areas to be proclaimed by General Officer Commanding. Reply was given that United Kingdom Delegation had no precise instructions, but that the directive to General Officer Commanding when received and communicated to Commission would probably help in clearing it up.

4. Chairman saw particular difficulty in reply given to Question B.2 in regard to overlap of a fortnight. After

/hc

31 JAN 1948

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mandatory administration, "State of Palestine" continued. He stressed the fundamental importance of the problem and said that he proposed to take it up with the Commission's legal advisers.

10. Grateful for guidance as to further answers to be given to the Commission on the above points.

11. Chairman concluded meeting by saying that he had charged the Philippine Delegate to discuss establishment of militias with the United Kingdom Delegation, Panamanian Delegate to discuss the disposal of illegal immigrants now held in Cyprus and allied questions, and Danish Delegate, devolution of authority from Central Government to municipalities.

Please repeat immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 51.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem.]

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Registry
No. E 1380/4/31

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

Sir A. Sadojan,
New York.

Telegram.

No. 622

(Date) Feb 11

Repeat to:—

Washington. 17
Jerusalem.

~~En Clair.~~

~~Code.~~

Cypher.

Distribution:—

Wali Dagn

Copies to:—

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the

CYPHER

F.O.

194

61

Immediate Despatched
Secret *arrived to UK let New York let no 622*
sent 7th Feb ref to for info to *Washington & Jerusalem*
Your telegram no. 267

Following are briefs on further points raised by Commission.

- (A) Your para. 3. Areas in question will be defined by General Officer Commanding by proclamation in accordance with his directive. Attacks which would be resisted in those areas would be attacks on British forces or their communications calculated to interfere with their withdrawal.
- (B) Your para. 4. Question of overlap period has been dealt with in my telegram no. 4. reply to your telegram no. 267.
- (C) Your para. 5. As you are aware, Ministers have re-examined the possibility of terminating the mandate earlier than 15th May and have reached the conclusion that the repercussions of such a step on the military plan cannot be accepted. If it becomes necessary to answer question of Panamanian delegate you should therefore inform the Commission that His Majesty's Government ~~is not prepared~~ has no reason to modify their decision to terminate the mandate on the 15th May. ~~For the~~ If the Commission were to arrive in Palestine more than a fortnight before that date the ~~British Government would not accept responsibility~~ position would have to be re-examined in the light of ~~the~~ the repercussions on the ~~the~~ security

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

security situation, ~~after the Commission's arrival.~~

(D) Your para. 6. You have no doubt already informed the Commission that we are ready to grant all reasonable facilities for a nucleus of the Commission's staff to visit Palestine well in advance of 1st May and I assume that it has been made clear that "one or two" need not be taken literally. On the question of military observers we should like to have the views of the High Commissioner for Palestine before replying.

(E) Your para. 7. It has already been made clear to the Commission that Councils cannot exercise any authority prior to termination of the mandate. Subject to that qualification preliminary measures by the Commission with a view to the establishment of the Councils after the termination of the mandate would be permissible.

(F) Your para. 9. ~~Before considering this problem we should be glad to know in what terms it has been formulated by the Commission's legal advisers.~~ *W. a. e.*

... 375 and 375.

W. a. e. 11/2

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Cypher/OTP
E1380/4/31
Secret

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 622

11th February, 1948.

D. 12.10 a.m. 12th February, 1948.

Repeated to Washington No. 1715
Jerusalem

IMMEDIATE
SECRET
GIANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram No. 622 of 11th February repeated for information to Washington and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 267.

Following are briefs on further points raised by Commission.

(A) Your paragraph 3. Areas in question will be defined by General Officer Commanding by proclamation in accordance with his directive. Attacks which would be resisted in those areas would be attacks on British forces or their communications calculated to interfere with their withdrawal.

(B) Your paragraph 4. Question of overlap period has been dealt with in my reply to your telegram No. 325.

(C) Your paragraph 5. As you are aware, Ministers have re-examined the possibility of terminating the Mandate earlier than 15th May and have reached the conclusion that the repercussions of such a step on the military plan cannot be accepted. If it becomes necessary to answer question of Panamanian delegate you should therefore inform the Commission that His Majesty's Government see no reason to modify their decision to terminate the Mandate on the 15th May. If the Commission against the advice of His Majesty's Government, were to arrive in Palestine more than a fortnight before that date the Palestine Government could not accept responsibility for the repercussions of their arrival on the security situation.

(D) Your paragraph 6. You have no doubt already informed the Commission that we are ready to grant all reasonable facilities for a nucleus of the Commission's staff to visit Palestine well in advance of 1st May and I assume that it has been made clear that "one or two" need not be taken literally.

/On

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On the question of military observers we should like to have the views of the High Commissioner for Palestine before replying.

(E) Your paragraph 7. It has already been made clear to the Commission that Councils cannot exercise any authority prior to termination of the mandate. Subject to that qualification preliminary measures by the Commission with a view to the establishment of the Councils after the termination of the mandate would be permissible.

(F) Your paragraph 9. We are examining the arguments outlined in your telegrams No. 375 and No. 378.

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Cypher/CTF.

DIPLOMATIC DISTRIBUTION. 66

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE. E-158

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations) JAN 31 1948

No. 266.

D. 9.50 p.m. 30th January 1948.

30th January 1948.

R. 3.55 a.m. 31st January 1948.

IMMEDIATE.

SECRET.

Addressed to High Commissioner Jerusalem telegram No. 50 of 30th January, repeated to Foreign Office and Saving to Washington.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher Cooke.

[Begins]

Main points discussed at today's meeting with Commission are being reported separately but I should be grateful for early information on the following points:

(1) Transjordan frontier force.

Commission were informed that Transjordan frontier force will be disarmed and disbanded before the termination of the mandate and that the arms and equipment of the force will be treated in the same way as the arms and equipment of His Majesty's other forces in Palestine. Commission wish to know:

(A) Present strength of the force

(B) Approximate numbers by races of personnel i.e. how many Palestinian Arabs Syrians Circassians etc.

(C) After disbandment, is it the intention of the Government of Palestine to repatriate to their countries of origin any personnel who cannot be regarded as Palestinian Arabs? I explained on this point that so far as I was aware, although the personnel of the Transjordan frontier force were drawn from a number of Middle Eastern races, they were all recruited in Palestine and I presumed that after their disbandment they would be at liberty to remain in Palestine. Commission seemed alarmed at the possibility that non-Palestinian Arabs with military training might be permitted to remain in Palestine.

(D) Does the Government of Palestine make any contribution to the cost of the Transjordan frontier force?

I replied to this that Palestine Government's contribution was limited to some \$42,000 per annum

31 JAN 1948
WHICH I T H E
M A R A

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which was the cost to Palestine in 1935/36 and that the bulk of the expenditure (which I believe amounts to about two million pounds per year) is paid by His Majesty's Government. I should be grateful if you would confirm that this is the position and that my figures are correct.

(2) Position of Palestinian staff after the termination of the mandate.

The contents of Foreign Office telegram to United Kingdom Delegation No. 595 (repeated to you) were brought to the notice of the Commission, namely that all appointments etc. would be terminated with effect from the date of the termination of the mandate. The Commission did not appear to relish this prospect and Federspiel said that they would have to give careful consideration to the legal position and suggested that there might be legal objections to proceeding in this way.

(3) Interruption of postal services.

Having regard to the stage at which discussions have reached and to the problems facing the Commission it was considered preferable not (repeat not) to ask the Commission whether they could guarantee physically and financially the continuance of postal services with effect from the date of cession of mandate, but merely to inform them that Government of Palestine were proposing to give notice of possible cessation of services after the 15th May and that such notice would have to be given early in February. Commission replied that in their view Government of Palestine should confine itself to informing International Postal Union that it could no longer accept responsibility for the maintenance of postal services after 15th May inasmuch as the mandate would be laid down on that date, but suggested that no reference should be made to possible cessation of services.

Commission also asked if the text of the notification to International Postal Union on these lines could be telegraphed to me for transmission to them so that they could inform International Postal Union of their plans when they have formulated them.

(4) Municipal legislation.

Contents of your telegram No. 196 were conveyed to Commission and Commission expressed appreciation of the offer to submit to them for comment the draft legislation in question which is presumably en route to me by now.

(5) Population

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypher (O.T.P.)

1383 4 21

67

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 3rd February, 1948.

R. 3rd " " 18.45 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 281 Secret.

Addressed to H.M. Ambassador Washington, No. 63
(Washington please pass to
UKDEL No. 291).
Repeated to S. of S.

My telegram No. 60.

Begins. Following for Fletcher-Cooks from Gurney.

Trans-Jordan Frontier Force.

Breakdown by nationalities is:-

Palestinian	1,463
Trans-Jordan	749
Syrian	130
Egyptian and Sudanese	113
Lebanese	24
Others	4
Total	<u>2,483</u>

Lower strength than that given in my telegram under reference is due to discharges since 18th December.

2. For administrative reasons, Syrians will now be discharged at Samakh and repatriated.

3. Paragraph 1(d) of your telegram No. 50 is correct. Annual contribution is £(P)42,797. Ends.

7 Copies

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E 1580

1948

PALESTINE

2 FEB 1948 69

Registry Number E1188/4/51

TELEGRAM FROM

No. 10611

Dated 11th Feb 48

Received in Registry 11/11/48

[Faint handwritten text, possibly a telegram message]

Last Paper.

1383

(Minutes.)

As a result of the meeting of Ministers this morning (see separate minutes), the C.O. on asking Jerusalem for their views on the possibility of granting a longer overlapping period (possibly one month).

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

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M104
Admky
AM Feb 2
On E1161

U.S. Political Dept.

H. Beeley 3/12

BABY untown
3.2

W. Knight

I should have thought that we could have agreed to an extension of the overlap provided always that during this overlap the progress of our military evacuation was halted and our troops continued to occupy in force

(Action completed)

[Signature]

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

1398

30171 F.O.P

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1	2	3	4	5	6
		1		2	

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10

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

75872/159/15

Cypher (O.T.P.)

1788 4 21

TO PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

Sent 4th February, 1948. 14.15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 442 Secret.

Addressed to High Commissioner, Palestine.
Repeated " UKDEL New York, BRIEF No. 28.
" " Washington, BRIEF No. 21.

Your telegram No. 275 repeated UKDEL No. 287
and Washington No. 61. Paragraph 2.

No objection to publicity to fact that staff
of U.N. Commission will be received before 1st May if
sent by Commission to undertake preparatory work.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for transmission
to New York and Washington)

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. H. Beoley.

72

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INWARD TELEGRAM.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Cypher (O.T.P.)

1388 4 5,

9 FEB 1948

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 4th February, 1948.

R. 4th " " 20, 30 hrs.

MOST IMMEDIATE

No. 289 Top Secret and Personal.

Addressed to the S. of S.
Repeated to U.K.D.E.L. New York No. 303
(Washington please pass).

I have, as you ask again, considered the question of overlap with the Commission, having in mind that I have always been anxious that, in the interests of Palestine, we should hand over to the Commission with as little dislocation as possible, and furthermore avoid to the greatest extent being placed in the position of being accused of obstruction. I have also ascertained the views of the General Officer Commanding on the security aspect independently from those of the Government. General Officer Commanding is in no doubt what a longer overlap would increase greatly the risk of a breakdown of withdrawal plans and, from the security angle, is of the firm opinion that the fortnight suggested should stand.

2. I have to admit that I find myself in agreement with this view. We have every reason to believe the Arabs when they say that the arrival of the Commission constitutes D Day for them, that they are building up their resources against that time and that present disturbances are largely disorganised. The only things which may hamper them are the possibility of quarrels amongst themselves or shortage of ammunition, but we cannot count on either of these in the initial stages of their attacks on the Jews.

3. You will have had my telegram No. 278 which crossed yours. It would be interesting to know why the Commission desires longer overlap. If it is merely to take over administration, surely our suggestions regarding sending staff here in advance will meet with any objections on those grounds. If, on the other hand, it is so that they can commence implementing the plan under the protection of our troops, His Majesty's Government have already made it clear many times that they cannot countenance this.

Distributed to:-

R.243
Secretary of State
P.S. to Minister of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Cairns
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Foreign Office
War Office (M.O.A.)
Cabinet Offices

Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Gaisworthy
Mr. Helmer
Mr. Dale

Mr. H. Beeley.
Lt. Col. Charteris.
Mr. S.E.V. Luke.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

75872/159/15/48

Cypher (O.T.P.)

INDEXED

1388 4 11

18 Entin
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74

TO PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

Sent 3rd February, 1948. 21.30 hrs.

MOST IMMEDIATE

No.458 Top Secret.

Addressed High Commissioner, Palestine.
Repeated UNDEL, New York, BEHP No.27.

You will have seen from New York telegrams to Foreign Office, Nos.191 and 273, both repeated to you, that the United Nations Commission regard His Majesty's Government's refusal to allow them more than a fortnight's overlap with the existing administration as the most serious item in the general charge of obstruction which they appear to be formulating. I know that you have always felt that the arrival of the Commission would be such a disturbing factor in Palestine that any attempt to maintain internal security or other Government services for more than a very brief period thereafter would impose an intolerable strain on the civil administration. Recent developments in the situation have certainly thrown no doubt on your assessment of this risk. The prospect of armed conflict with the Arabs, should the period of overlap be in any way prolonged, is very real, and our association with the Commission in Palestine for longer than the fortnight contemplated would certainly encourage imputations that we are not fully sincere in our determination not to take part in the implementation of the United Nations plan.

2. With the above factors in mind, I have discussed the New York telegrams under reference with certain of my colleagues. There is some point in the view that the allegations that the U.K. is obstructing the work of the Commission should be shown to be demonstrably untrue and that we should indicate our willingness to go as far as practicable in resolving the difficulty which the Commission feels about the short overlap period. We should be in a much better position to resist further requests from the Commission if we were able to meet them to some extent on this particular issue. I have therefore undertaken to ask you to look at this matter again in consultation with the G.O.C. and to say whether you feel that any concession on the period of the overlap can be offered to the Commission. I do not wish to press you in any way to suggest a compromise on this point if in your judgment it would seriously prejudice our position and hamper the withdrawal.

3. There is to be a meeting of Ministers to consider this and other related questions on the evening of 5th February and I should be greatly obliged if you could let me have your views before then.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for transmission to New York).

Distributed to:—/

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RECEIVED IN C.B.

5 FEB 1919

SENT TO DEPT.

Distributed to:-

R.243
Secretary of State
P.S. to Minister of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Caird
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Gollisworthy
Mr. Holmer
Mr. Dale
Foreign Office
War Office (M.O.4.)
Cabinet Offices

- Mr. H. Buckley.
- Lt. Col. Charleston.
- Mr. S.M.V. Duke.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Encl
E
75

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 3rd February, 1948.

R. 3rd " " 16.21 hrs.

IMMEDIATE.

No. 275 Secret.

1188/4/21

- 6 FEB 1948

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York No. 287.

" " Washington No. 61 (Washington
please pass to U.K. Delegation)

Your telegram No. 415 repeating U.K.
Delegation's telegram No. 276 to you and No. 52 to me.

I would suggest that it should be
possible to allay the Commission's fears regarding the
short overlap by stressing

- (a) our readiness to receive and assist any members
of their staff whom they wish to send to do
essential preparatory work in connection with
the taking over of the Administration by the
Commission and
- (b) that if this is done, a fortnight's overlap should
be sufficient.

2. In view of accusations of obstruction in
this connection, I feel that it would be helpful to give
publicity to the fact that there is no objection to
earlier arrival of staff, and propose to do so here unless
you see objection.

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FO					
371/68531					
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*Eastery Dept 17.11.
Tel. 101
Please see S/S's minute
"I would not divulge plan"
EB.*

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on] *CMca 77*

Cypher/CMP

WORLD ORGANISATION
DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 281

D. 3.50 p.m. 31st January, 1948.

31st January, 1948. R. 9.22 p.m. 31st January, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington Saving

IMPORTANT
SECRET
GIANT

*I would not divulge plan
Should be Plan
EB*

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 281 of 31st January, repeated to Jerusalem and saving to Washington.

Palestine Commission have sent under formal letter of 30th January copies of correspondence with Jewish Agency on the subject of a request by Shertok that the military withdrawal plan should be communicated under conditions of secrecy and confidence to the agency representatives.

2. Agency letter to Commission argues that military evacuation of areas in Jewish State Territories will leave such areas with no organised means of defence. Unless these can be prepared beforehand Jewish population in such areas would probably find itself exposed to easy aggression. Prior knowledge of the plan is thus necessary to provide continuity in defence measures.

3. Commission's reply points out that until Mandate is terminated mandatory power alone is responsible for law and order and that withdrawal plan was given the Commission only on condition that strictest confidence would be preserved. Commission had given to United Kingdom representative a formal pledge in this regard and is not therefore in a position to comply with Agency's request.

4. Commission's reply concludes that copies of correspondence are being sent to United Kingdom Representative for information and for such comment and action as he may deem appropriate.

5. Unless you instruct otherwise I shall return a mere acknowledgment of Commission's letter.

6. I have also received a letter dated January 30th from Delegation of Arab Higher Committee in New York referring to press reports that Commission has called

/ upon me

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-2-

upon me to divulge evacuation plan to Jewish Agency and asking that if such is our intention we should also communicate the plan to Arab Committee as it is "of vital importance to the Arabs and their security in Palestine". Subject to your views I propose to reply that plan was communicated to Commission in confidence and that there is no question at present of its being divulged to any other party.

Foreign Office please repeat to Jerusalem important as my telegram No. 57.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for retransmission to Jerusalem]

2 2 2

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78

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/GTP

WORLD ORGANIZATION
DISTRIBUTION 1948

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)
No. 281 D. 3.50 p.m. 31st January, 1948.
31st January, 1948. R. 9.22 p.m. 31st January, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington Saving

IMPORTANT
SECRET
GIANT

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31st January, repeated to Jerusalem and saving to
Washington.

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FEB 1 1948

-2-

upon me to divulge evacuation plan to Jewish Agency and asking that if such is our intention we should also communicate the plan to Arab Committee as it is "of vital importance to the Arabs and their security in Palestine". Subject to your views I propose to reply that plan was communicated to Commission in confidence and that there is no question at present of its being divulged to any other party.

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[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for retransmission to Jerusalem]

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9

Registry
No. E1398/4/31

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

OUT INFO, 79
194 .
Despatched 7 . . . M.

Draft.

UK Del.
New York
Telegram.
No. 484
(Date) 2.12.44
Repeat to:-
Washington
Jerusalem Co

~~Important~~
~~SECRET~~
Grant
Addressed to UK Delegation New
York, telegram no. 484 of 3rd Feb.
repeated ^{brief} to Washington and Jerusalem

Your telegram no. 281

I approve the action you suggest
in paragraphs 5 and 6.

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3.2

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in Clair. Stet
Cite.
Distrib.:-

World Organ

BAB Insour
Copies to:- 3

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to
drafts
3/2

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

3149 Wt. 26409/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.S.

7.30P

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80
WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 484

3rd February, 1948 D. 8.23 p.m. 3rd February, 1948

Repeated to Washington No. 1393
Jerusalem

IMPORTANT

GIANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York
telegram No. 484 of 3rd February repeated for information
to Washington and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 281.

I approve the action you suggest in paragraphs 5 and 6.

888

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AIDE MÉMOIRE.

A working group of the Trusteeship Council are at present drafting a statute for Jerusalem in accordance with the resolution on Palestine adopted by the General Assembly on the 29th November. One of the issues under discussion is the length of the qualifying period for "residence" in the city. The United Kingdom representative is pressing for a period of five or at least three years. The French representative on the Trusteeship Council has expressed himself in favour of a qualifying period of 6 months only, on the grounds that this is the period required to establish voting rights under the French Constitution and that a longer period would not be democratic. His Majesty's Government feel that owing to special circumstances this analogy is inapplicable to the situation in Jerusalem.

2. The General Assembly's Palestine resolution confers the following rights on "residents" of the city of Jerusalem:

a) subject to certain reservations all residents automatically become citizens;

b) the Legislative Council is to be elected by the adult residents;

c) after ten years "the residents of the City shall be free to express by means of a referendum their wishes as to possible modification of the régime of the City". The statute will then be subject to re-examination by the Trusteeship Council.

3. The second of these provisions does not create any problem since it is proposed to allocate a fixed number of seats to both Arabs and Jews on the Legislative Council. The danger arises from the third provision, which seems to leave open the possibility that the Trusteeship Council might, in the light of the referendum to be taken after seven years, recommend the termination of the

/International.....

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would have better chances.

The alternative suggestion is more attractive, when the mandate comes to an end, de facto authority in many parts of Palestine will fall into the hands of municipal and other local councils. Why not in Jerusalem also? It is true that the Jerusalem municipality happens to be run at present by a British official, but he might be allowed to continue in office if:

- (i) it was clear that his authority stopped at the municipal boundary, and that he had nothing whatever to do with the larger Jerusalem area planned by the U.N.
- (ii) it was also clear that his authority did not derive from the U.N. Commission.

I do not know whether the Palestine Bill, as at present drafted, meets the High Commissioner's suggestion at paragraph 8 (a). This should be looked into if it is decided that we wish to leave the door open to his alternative course of action.

H Bealey 9/2

This is to be discussed by the S. of C. of the Res. Committee tomorrow.

B.A.S.

1-2

Why in fact should Jerusalem alone be denied this possibility of local administrative continuity?

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2 FEB 1948

INWARD TELEGRAM.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

20
Enter
90
Wm

E1460

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 29th January, 1948.

R. 29th " " 13.50 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 220 Top Secret and Personal.

Following for Martin. Begins.

Your letter of 16th January to Gurney.

It now appears to be the wish of responsible members of all communities to respect the peace of Jerusalem, and the prospects of their being able to do so are considerably brighter now than they were a month ago. On the termination of the mandate Jews will be too closely occupied with problems of setting up their own State to wish to make trouble in Jerusalem. They will, moreover, not wish to appear to flout the U.N.O. plan for the City. The Jewish Agency Political Department have told us that they would make no attempt to set up an administration in Jerusalem.

2. The Arab plans, as so far known, provide for attacks on Jews in other parts of Palestine but do not contemplate any offensive action against Jews in Jerusalem. It is most unlikely that King Abdullah would attempt to seize or control the Massini stronghold of the City. An Arab coup d'etat, however, cannot be entirely ruled out.

3. In spite of the wishes of leaders of both communities, inter communal tension, fanned by events outside, will be running so high that any spark lit by uncontrolled elements on either side in Jerusalem may cause a disastrous explosion. The Arab and Jewish Municipal Police could not do more than protect life and property in the quarter of their respective communities, out of which they would not venture. No administration could undertake to maintain even a semblance of law and order without a special police force, non Arabs and non Jews, to intervene and prevent major clashes between riotous crowds.

4. The Jerusalem Municipality is held together at present by a British chairman of the Municipal Commission appointed by the High Commissioner and paid from Municipal funds, and a number of Municipal Commissioners (Ygroup omitted) all but one of whom are Government officers whose appointments will be terminated on 15th May. The Chairman of the Commission and the British staff of the Municipality are prepared to remain on duty for so long as it is possible for them to give useful service, and it is probable that essential Municipal services can be maintained, though with difficulty, by the existing staff.

5. The local administration of Bethlehem and villages included in the City area may be expected to be continued fairly satisfactorily by their respective local authorities.

5.

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6. For two main reasons the Municipality will be unable by itself to assume the functions of Government of the Municipal area. First, Jerusalem is entirely dependent upon outside supplies of food and other essentials. The Municipality will be unable to organize these or to operate outside communication such as Posts and Telegraphs, secondly, it will be unable to find money to pay for the special police force costing not less than £40,000 a month, apart from its Arab and Jewish Police Force of 600 costing £12,000 a month. There must therefore be a Government if only represented by a Governor or Administrator, appointed by the United Nations.

7. Since resolution of the General Assembly does not provide for special (international) regime to come into existence until two months after evacuation of British forces (paragraph 3 of Part IA), and since the function of implementing belongs to the Commission and not to Trusteeship Council (paragraph 2 of Part IB), it appears that the simplest procedure would be for the Commission to provide by regulations, which it is authorized by the Assembly to make and could make in New York, for the interim Government of Jerusalem, and for them to appoint an Administrator with the necessary staff and also a Chairman of the Municipal Commission who could take over as soon as possible from the present Chairman, who is 63 years old. The Chairman appointed by the Commission could probably organize some sort of Municipal Council as an interim nominated body. There is no prospect of finding another acceptable Chairman locally when the present Chairman leaves. The Administrator himself should not and need not come here before 1st May; it would be necessary for others to come earlier to make preparations. In this way the Commission might find it possible to succeed in an important part of their task without coming here themselves.

8. Two subsidiary points should be noted.

- (a) The act of Parliament should not preclude continuance of the authority of the Chairman of the Municipal Commission and employees of Municipal and local authorities. This is necessary for Jerusalem in case the Commission do not make the regulations proposed above.
- (b) There are presumably no political objections to British officers remaining in these capacities if necessary. Etc.

Distributed to:-

L. 245
 Secretary of State
 P.S. to Minister of State
 Sir T. Lloyd
 Mr. Rees Williams
 Sir S. Caine
 Sir C. Jeffries
 Mr. Holding
 Mr. Martin
 Foreign Office

Mr. Trafford Smith
 Mr. Gatch
 Mr. Mathison
 Mr. Higham
 Mr. Galsworthy
 Mr. Holmer
 Mr. Dain

Mr. Wright
 Mr. Parsons

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89

E

E 1469 91

1948

PALESTINE

2 FEB 1948

Registry Number E 1469/4/51
TELEGRAM FROM
 No. 111/1111
 Dated Tadda
 Received in Registry 42
 11/11/1
 2/16

*Subject of incident... from
 2/10/48 55 - Beirut (E) 1/1/48) while the
 word would also appear in some of the
 documents, though it would be very
 important regarding the fact.*

Last Paper.

1460 (1290)

(Minutes.)

References.

H.B. entry 2/12

B.H. 3-
3-2

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8 Matheson 60.
 Herman Bab off
 M15a
 M104
 Admty
 Q.M.
 Feb 3²⁴ ca.
 E 1154

(Action completed.)

9 Feb 5/2

(Index.)

[Handwritten signature]

Next Paper.

15009

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91

E

E 1511

93

1948

PALESTINE

3 FEB 1948

Registry Number

E 1511/4/31

FROM

to H. G. ...

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

20 Jan 3 Feb

Instructions to Governor of Jerusalem. After New York tel 215 (E 1166/4/30) & ...

Last Paper.

1509

(Minutes.)

H.B. 37/2

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Rel. New York. 437
Ltr to W. ... 112 (Sec)
Jan 21.

8, Matheson
Berman
M17a
M04
Admiral
AM

Feb 3 1948

(Action completed.)

412 148

(Index.)

[Handwritten marks]

Next Paper.

1552

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Registry
No. E

Draft.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Telegram.
United Kingdom
Delegation, New York
No. 437

(Date) Jan 31 1948

Repeat to :-
Jerusalem
Saving to Washing-
ton.
1/2 Saw

En Clair.
Code.
Cypher.

Distribution :-

Trusteeship

Copies to :-

CYPHER
Despatched 1948
95

IMPORTANT

CONFIDENTIAL

BUILD

Addressed to U.K. Delegation, New York
tel. No. 437 of Jan 31 ~~and~~ repeated ^{for information} to
Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.
Following for Fletcher Cooke from
Galsworthy.

Your telegram No. 215 [of 26th
January Statute for Jerusalem.]

Our concern is not that Instructions
to Governor should form part of the
Statute [We recognise there may well
be advantage in having them as a separate
document] but that they should be
prepared by the Trusteeship Council ^{now} ~~also~~
and not (repeat not) left to the Governor
to prepare. We still feel therefore
that question should be re-opened in
Working Committee and are not inclined to
accept Anker's view.

2/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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2. We now see from your telegram No. 237 that Trusteeship Council has been deferred until February 16th and that Working Committee will reconvene on February 12th and 13th. Burns and I are travelling on "Queen Elizabeth" and Burns will therefore be able to raise matter himself in Working Committee. Meanwhile U.K. draft Instructions should not (repeat not) be circulated to members in advance, and no (repeat no) further action need be taken in this matter until Burns arrives.

W.B. 31/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Cypher/OTF
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Confidential

TRUSTEESHIP DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 437
31st January, 1948. D.4.45 p.m. 31st January, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington No. 112 Saving

IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL
BUILD

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation, New York telegram No. 437 of January 31st repeated for information to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington

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E

E 1039

PALESTINE

5 FEB 1943

97

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 1039/4/31

U.K. 101

New York

325

4.7.43

5 -

State of mind of government & public
of the world at the outbreak of the war
of the world from a new point of view
and a new perspective. It is a new
chapter in the history of the world
and a new chapter in the history of the
people of the world.

Last Paper.

1633

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

S. Matheson 80 (S.M.)

Rosenman 100/11

M12a

M04

Admiral

a m

Feb 60

E 1039

K10

(Action
completed)

(Index.)

J. E. 1039/2

E.
29/4/48

Next Paper.

1640

(Minutes.)

Now see cabinet conclusions of 5th February.

H.B. 7/2

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- 2 -

For these reasons the Commission does not find satisfactory the proposal that the Commission should not come to Palestine until approximately a fortnight before the termination of the mandate and has decided therefore to ask you to be so kind as to convey to your Government this request for reconsideration of its policy in this matter. [Ends].

2. In addition to above communication Secretariat have asked for an answer to question raised by delegate of Panama and recorded in paragraph 5 of my telegram 287.

3. I should be grateful for earliest possible instructions.

Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram 60.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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Cypher/OTP

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E 104 104
5 FEB 1948

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 328. D. 5.42.p.m. February 4th. 1948.
February 4th. 1948. R. 10.55.p.m. February 4th. 1948.

Repeated Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

MOST IMMEDIATE.

GIANT.

Addressed Foreign Office 328 4/2 repeated Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

Your telegram No. 494. Palestine.

1. Sobolev tells me that Palestine Commission have as yet no draft of their special report. They are beginning discussion of it this afternoon. In his view it will be at least four or five days before it is ready.

2. Commission's first monthly report has already been circulated and may (though there is no (repeat no) present indication of this) be placed at any time on Council's provisional agenda for discussion after three days (Rule 8 of provisional rules of procedure). Such discussion would no doubt also cover field of special report if latter had been circulated by the time discussion took place.

3. I am afraid I can give no estimate of course discussion would be likely to take. I could take soundings of other members of Council but in present circumstances they would be likely to say that they could not commit themselves before they see the special report. In any case they would probably want time to consult their governments before being ready to discuss special report.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 62.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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Cypher/CTP

E 1041 E
106
5 FEB 1948
DEPARTMENTAL

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 329 D. 6.35 p.m. 4th February, 1948
4th February, 1948 R. 12.30 a.m. 5th February, 1948

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Addressed to Jerusalem telegram No. 63 of 4th February 1948 repeated to Foreign Office (For Colonial Office) and saving to Washington.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher Cooke.

[Begins].

Commission have enquired whether any information is available regarding the following alleged incident.

2. A report was made to the Commission on 2nd February to the effect that on or about 1st February Hagana patrols had "spotted Lebanese officers surveying ground for gun and mortar positions" in Upper Galilee allegedly in preparation for an assault on Misgovam and Manara, two settlements located a few hundred yards from the Lebanese frontier North-west of Huleh.

3. I can find no reference to this in any security reports received from you and would be grateful for any information that may be available.

[Ends].

Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem and pass to Colonial Office.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office and to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 7th February, 1948.
R. 7th " " 13.35 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 308 Secret

Addressed to Washington No. 69. (please pass
to U.K. Del. as my No. 331 for
Fletcher Cooke from Gurney).
Repeated to the S. of S.

Reference S. of S.'s telegram No. 467
repeating U.K. Del. telegram No. 63 to Jerusalem.

No (repeat no) information is available here
about alleged discovery by Hagana patrols on or about
1st February. If report is true, Jewish authorities have
failed to pass on the information to us.

Cops sent to:-

Foreign Office - Communications Department.

107

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypher(O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE(Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 9th February, 1948.
R. 9th " " 21.37 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 328

Addressed to H.M. Ambassador Washington, (? No. 76)
Secret.

Repeated to S. of S. (Washington please pass to
UKDEL New York No. 349 for Fletcher-
Cook from Gurney).

My telegram to Washington No. 69, UKDEL No. 331
repeated to the S. of S. No. 308.

It has now come to our knowledge that Jewish source
reported to Headquarters Palestine about 30th January that
an attack on frontier settlements in Eastern Galilee was
being prepared. That Al Manara and Migay would probably
be targets. That Lebanese officer has been reconnoitring
sites for mortars and light artillery. This information
was immediately conveyed to Military Commander of area.

2. I regret that this information was not in my
possession when my telegram of 11th January was despatched.
Ends.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

- Mr. H. Beelow.

108
P 21
164/ 4 21

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E 1042 110
5 FEB 1948

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 331. D. 11.00 p.m. 4th February, 1948.
4th February, 1948. R. 5.30 a.m. 5th February, 1948.

IMMEDIATE.
SECRET.

Addressed to High Commissioner Jerusalem telegram No. 64 of 4th February, repeated to Foreign Office for Colonial Office and Washington Saving.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher Cooke.

[Begins] Your telegram No. 289, repeated to Colonial Office as No. 277.

Contents of your telegram No. 222 (repeated to Colonial Office as No. 209) were conveyed to the Commission by letter on 29th January. Matter was briefly touched upon during our meeting with the Commission on 30th January but no indication was given as to Commission's reactions.

2. I have since spoken to Bunche who informs me that Federspiel has been appointed by the Commission to deal with matters relating to the Commission's accommodation, etc. in Palestine. In particular, Federspiel is going to ask on what terms the Commission would be permitted to occupy the Royal Air Force camp at Agir and use the airfield there.

3. Bunche has enquired quite unofficially whether it is proposed that Commission should occupy this accommodation free of charge or whether they will be expected to pay rent to His Majesty's Government.

4. I would suggest for consideration that Commission might be permitted to occupy Agir without (repeat without) payment on the understanding that when they relinquish occupation His Majesty's Government will have the right to dispose of it in exactly the same way as if they had disposed of it prior to the termination of the mandate.

5. Bunche also informed me that Federspiel has been authorised to take up the question of termination of Palestinian officer's appointments and the payment of compensation for abolition of office. We have, as you know, made our position quite clear on this point to the Commission and I do not (repeat not) know what line Federspiel is going to take.

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FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.
3rd February, 1948.

Dear Wood,

I attach a record
of the meeting which was held
this morning at the Foreign
Office between the Foreign
Secretary, the Minister of
Defence and the Colonial
Secretary on the subject of
Palestine.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) R. D. C. McALPINE

R.F. Wood Esq.,
Ministry of Defence

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SECRET

The Church House,
Gt. Smith Street,
London, S.W. 1.

February 4, 1948.

My Reference

Your Reference

120
E 109
E

My dear Bailey,

FEB 1948

I enclose the first draft of a second paper which my secretary of state wishes to circulate to his colleagues before the Cabinet meeting scheduled for the evening of the 5th February. This draft has not yet been seen by my secretary of state. I shall be glad to have as soon as possible any comments you may have to make.

I am sending a copy of the draft to Luke at the Cabinet Offices.

*Yours truly,
W.A.C. Mathieson*

(W.A.C. Mathieson)

H. BAILEY, ESQ., CBE.

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121

Draft

P A L E S T I N E

ATTITUDE OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT
TO IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS PLAN.

Memo. by Secretary of State for the Colonies.

My colleagues will wish to be reminded of the statements which have been made on behalf of His Majesty's Government with regard to the part they are prepared to play in the implementation of the United Nations Plan.

2. At the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in April, 1947, at which the Special Committee on Palestine was set up, Sir Alexander Cadogan stated that, if the United Nations could find a just solution acceptable to both parties, it would be welcomed by His Majesty's Government but they should not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which was not accepted by both parties and which we could not reconcile with our conscience.

3. In the opening stages of the discussion of the Special Committee's report by the General Assembly, on the 26th September 1947, and 16th October 1947, I made two speeches outlining the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the report. I

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three

123

the right to lay down the Mandate and to bring the civil administration to an end at any time after it had become evident

A. Sir Alexander Cadogan stated on the 15th November that:

"... if a United Nations Commission were at work in Palestine taking preparatory steps for a settlement which would require enforcement it must not expect British authorities either to exercise administrative responsibility or to maintain law and order except in the limited areas of which they would necessarily remain in occupation during the process of withdrawal."

5. On the 20th November Sir Alexander Cadogan expressed the hope that in drawing up its

but the present Government would relinquish its authority only to a United Nations Commission which could then undertake to devolve that authority to successor

B. So long as His Majesty's Government continued to hold the mandate, they must insist on their undivided control of the country.

... would in practice amount to the implementation of the scheme by His Majesty's Government.

6. In the light of our representatives' statements certain modifications were made to the Plan which failed however to /provide

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four

124

provide any alternative means of enforcement to the employment of the forces of the Mandatory Power. It was necessary for our representatives to re-emphasize that the gap in enforcement still remained and that His Majesty's Government did not consider that the Mandate required them to establish either a Jewish State or an Arab State in Palestine by force, or to coerce either people in the interest of the other, nor were they prepared to accept any responsibility under the Assembly recommendations which would involve the use of British troops as the means for enforcing a decision against either people.

X. In opening the debate in the House of Commons on the 11th December, 1947, I recalled the statements made on the problem of enforcement by our delegation to the United Nations, and stated that it was not for Britain after it had given so much, to take up again the heavy commitments of bringing a new order fashioned by the United Nations into being in the face of new conflict. I stated that the date we had in mind for the termination of the Mandate was 15th May 1948, and that in our view undivided control of Palestine was essential until the Mandate was relinquished. As His Majesty's Government had made it clear that they could not take part in the implementation of the United Nations Plan it would be undesirable for the Commission to arrive in Palestine

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five

125

until a short period before the
termination of the Mandate.

8. In the same debate the Secretary of
State for Foreign Affairs made the
following statement:

"I am not going, and His Majesty's
Government are not going, to oppose the
United Nations decision. The decision has
been taken. As someone has said we have
tried our best. We have no intention of
opposing that decision, but we cannot our-
selves undertake, either individually or
collectively in association with others,
to impose that decision by force."

---In reply to a question regarding
our action if the Security Council were to
decide that collective enforcement was
necessary in respect of Palestine, he
said:

"It is for the Security Council to
lay down itself how they will find the forces,
and the form of the forces, but I cannot
use British organised forces nor can I be
a party at the present moment, with security
forces as a whole not yet organised in the
United Nations, of putting British forces
under other commands. When the scheme is
finally worked out of what this United
Nations force is to be, what its command is
to be, and what its obligations are to be,
not only in Palestine but as part of the
international set-up, then we will take our
corner, but to put British forces under

/another

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six

another command in this way in an
isolated instance is a thing we are not
prepared to do."

7. The latest occasion on which His Majesty's Government's attitude on this matter was re-stated was in the debate in the House of Lords on the 20th January when the Minister of State for the Colonies said:

"The House will remember that His Majesty's Government have made it abundantly clear again and again that they cannot allow our forces to be employed in imposing a solution upon either community in Palestine. We cannot use British forces to impose a plan which is not freely accepted by both parties in Palestine."

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127

SECRET

COPY NO. _____

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C.F.(48) 41

4th February, 1948.

19 FEB 1948

CABINET

PALESTINE: ATTITUDE OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT
TO IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS PLAN

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies

My colleagues will wish to be reminded of the statements which have been made on behalf of His Majesty's Government with regard to the part they are prepared to play in the implementation of the United Nations Plan.

2. At the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in April, 1947, at which the Special Committee on Palestine was set up, Sir Alexander Cadogan stated that, if the United Nations could find a just solution acceptable to both parties, it would be welcomed by His Majesty's Government but they should not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which was not accepted by both parties and which we could not reconcile with our conscience.

3. In the opening stages of the discussion of the Special Committee's report by the General Assembly, on 26th September, 1947, and 16th October, 1947, I made two speeches outlining the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the report. I made it clear that they would be in the highest degree reluctant to oppose the wishes of the General Assembly with regard to the future of Palestine but they were not prepared to impose by force of arms a settlement which was not acceptable to both the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. In the absence of such a settlement His Majesty's Government must plan for the early withdrawal of British forces and administration from Palestine. I pointed out that it would be unreasonable to ask His Majesty's Government to carry sole responsibility for the administration of Palestine and for enforcing changes which the United Nations regarded as necessary. In determining the nature of the settlement the Assembly should also determine the measures to implement it. His Majesty's Government would not accept responsibility for enforcement of a disputed settlement, either alone or in the major role. Likewise in considering any proposal to the effect that they should participate with others in the enforcement of a settlement, they must take into account both the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it.

4. As discussion in Committee and Sub-Committee continued it was necessary for our representatives on several occasions to elaborate and stress the attitude of His Majesty's Government to enforcement. We stated that our authorities had been directed to plan for the evacuation of our forces and administration to

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be completed by 1st August, 1948, and that a civil administration would not necessarily be maintained up to that date. We reserved the right to lay down the Mandate and to bring the civil administration to an end at any time after it had become evident that no settlement acceptable to both Jews and Arabs had been reached by the Assembly. Sir Alexander Cadogan stated on 15th November that: "... if a United Nations Commission were at work in Palestine taking preparatory steps for a settlement which would require enforcement it must not expect British authorities either to exercise administrative responsibility or to maintain law and order except in the limited areas of which they would necessarily remain in occupation during the process of withdrawal."

5. On 20th November Sir Alexander Cadogan expressed the hope that in drawing up its proposals the Assembly would take full account of the risk of strife in Palestine and of the need to provide a means of filling the gap in the process of enforcement left by the decision of the Mandatory Power that its troops could not be used as the instrument of the United Nations for this purpose. In arranging our withdrawal we would give proper consideration to such arrangements as might have been made by the United Nations for the establishment of a provisional regime to succeed the Mandate, but the present Government would relinquish its authority only to a United Nations Commission which could then undertake to devolve that authority to successor governments as it thought fit. So long as His Majesty's Government continued to hold the Mandate, they must insist on their undivided control of the country.

6. In the light of our representatives' statements certain modifications were made to the Plan which failed however to provide any alternative means of enforcement to the employment of the forces of the Mandatory Power. It was necessary for our representatives to re-emphasize that the gap in enforcement still remained and that His Majesty's Government did not consider that the Mandate required them to establish either a Jewish State or an Arab State in Palestine by force, or to coerce either people in the interest of the other, nor were they prepared to accept any responsibility under the Assembly recommendations which would involve the use of British troops as the means for enforcing a decision against either people.

7. In opening the debate in the House of Commons on 11th December, 1947, I recalled the statements made on the problem of enforcement by our delegation to the United Nations, and stated that it was not for Britain, after it had given so much, to take up again the heavy commitments of bringing a new order fashioned by the United Nations into being in the face of new conflict. I stated that the date we had in mind for the termination of the Mandate was 15th May, 1948, and that in our view undivided control of Palestine was essential until the Mandate was relinquished. As His Majesty's Government had made it clear that they could not take part in the implementation of the United Nations Plan it would be undesirable for the Commission to arrive in Palestine until a short period before the termination of the Mandate.

8. In the same debate the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made the following statement: "I am not going, and His Majesty's Government are not going, to oppose the United Nations decision. The decision has been taken. As someone has said we have tried our best. We have no intention of opposing that decision, but we cannot ourselves undertake, either individually or collectively in association with others, to impose that

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